

Edm (W) Sall of Chatham

THE
ENGLISH PERICLES;

OR,

The four Qualifications necessary to make

A

TRUE STATESMAN,

E X E M P L I F I E D

I N T H E

CHARACTER and CONDUCT

O F

Mr. SECRETARY PITT.

— Ne quid veri, non audeat.

Cicero de Oratore, Lib. ii.

L O N D O N :

Printed for G. WOODFALL, at the King's-
Arms, Charing-Cross.

(Price One Shilling.)

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TRUE STATESMAN,
EXEMPLIFIED

IN THE

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Cicero de Officiis, Lib. ii.

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THE English Pericles, &c.

HUMAN Nature from the Beginning has been always uniform and constant in its Actings, and how many soever may have been the Changes and Revolutions it may have caused, however it may have been furrounded with the perpetual Mutability of all other Things in the World, yet it has been itself always the same.

The Use I would make of this Reflection is, to shew that whatever we may think of the Men of antient Times, of whom we are apt to judge, as if they were not like those of this Age ; yet we shall find, that they partook of the same Appetites and Passions with ourselves, their Affections of

Hope and Fear, of Desire and Aversion, were cast in the same original Mold, and when exerted, were attended with the same Effects as at present. Hence it is, we find in the Histories of former Times, the same Kind of Occurrences and Events, the same Traces of wild Ambition, the same Spirit of Faction, the same Love of Liberty, the same Veneration for able and active Ministers, who have made the Happiness of the Public, the Rule of their Actions.—In short, all Things *the same*, as we have experienced in the latter Ages of the World; so that at least in this Particular, we see the Aphorism of Solomon verified, *That which hath been is now, and that which is to be, hath already been.*

The same Remark may be extended to States and Kingdoms, as well as applied to Individuals; and we find that Bodies politic under similar Circumstances, acted with the same Uniformity at all Times.

What *England* may be now with Regard to its Naval Strength, *Athens* was at the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War; and would have continued to have had

had the Mastery over their Rivals the *Lacedemonians*, if they had observed the repeated Directions of their wise and experienced Minister *Pericles*, who always was putting them in Mind of two fundamental Rules to be observed by them, *Keeping themselves quiet at Home, and taking Care of their Marine, for whatever Affairs might call them Abroad* *. But instead of pursuing this wise Advice, they run directly into the contrary Imprudence; and every Man considering *his own Advantage* before that of the *Public*, those who were uppermost, pushed their own Designs, and opposed those of their Adversaries, so that the State was generally the Sufferer †. Their ill Success was not owing so much to the Incapacity of those that were to execute, as it was to the continual Contention and Opposition of those, who would chuse the Loss of Fleets and Armies, and the Honour of their Country, rather than a Victory, gained under the Direction of a Rival.— This was the Case in the Expedition against

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Sicily,

* Ησυχάζοντες, τὰ καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, θεραπεύοντες.

Thucidid. Lib. ii.

† Τὰς ἰδίας φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἰδία κερδῇ, πακῶς ἐς τὴν
σφας αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς συμμαχὰς ἐπολιτεύσαν.

Ibid.

Sicily, as *Thucydides* tells us, and Experience tells us also,—that this has been the Case in Expeditions of more modern Date.

But *Pericles* did not live to see the Accomplishment of his Predictions, which possibly would not have happened, if he had not died. His Ability would have wisely plan'd their Enterprizes, and his Prudence happily directed them.

But though he was the very Soul of the State while he lived, and by pursuing their true Interests, had carried their Reputation and Happiness to the highest Pitch, yet no sooner had the People felt such Reverse and Misfortunes, as arose from the Descent of the Enemy on their Lands, or the unavoidable Visitation of Heaven in a Pestilence, but they were ready to charge all this upon their Minister, and found some Consolation, in having Somebody to throw the Blame on from themselves. This was some Relief to Minds bending beneath the Weight of their Calamities. To which he wisely answered, that indeed *ill Success is but too apt to change Men's Opinions ; but that they should not lay*

to

to his Charge, the Misfortunes that were not in human Power to prevent, unless they would allow him also the Merit of accidental good Fortune. However, popular Clamour soon got the better of Interest and Gratitude; and the Weight of the present Adversity wiped away all Remembrance of their past Obligations. In short, the great *Pericles*, by the little Artifices and Misrepresentations of Faction, was brought to his Trial, condemned and fined as an Enemy to his Country *one Day*, by that People, who with the same Ardor and Inconstancy fetched him back *the next*, as their General and Deliverer.—He retired as a Criminal—He returned as Master both of them and their State. And as he knew how to lay hold of every proper Opportunity upon every Occasion, so here he did not omit taking Advantage of the good Humour of the People, to tell them their Errors, and justify himself. I shall transcribe a Period or two out of his Speech at this Conjunction, as it is one of the finest Pieces of Eloquence in the World.

‘ You complain, my
 ‘ Countrymen, says he, of your private Suf-
 ‘ ferings.

ferings. You have a Right to complain,
 but not to be angry. Consider, it is better
 that Individuals suffer a little, if the Public
 thereby can be better supported ; than that
 the Public should sink, and Individuals be
 secure ; for the Fall of the Public will ne-
 cessarily draw after it the Ruin of Particu-
 lars ; but the little Sufferings and tempo-
 rary Distresses of private Men, may be felt
 by them, without endangering the Public,
 because bye and bye they may recover again.
 — You are much mistaken to think you are
 as competent Judges of these Matters, as
 I, who am a Man of Experience, that
 yields to none of you, neither in *Knowledge*
 of *Business*, nor *Eloquence*, nor *Love of*
Country, nor *Contempt of Riches*. I men-
 tion these together, because they ought all
 to meet in a *complete Minister* ; for he that
 knows how to *act*, and not to *speak*, may
 as well know nothing ; and he that hath
 Eloquence and Knowledge, if they are
 not directed by the Love of his Country,
 they will be of no Use ; and if he has all
 three, and loves Money, he will infallibly

You complain, say he, of your private suf-
 ferings.

‘ sell every Thing else to get it *.’ Thus far *Pericles*.—And it is no Wonder indeed, that Power, Success and Glory, which are the Basis of national Greatness, should be carried so high at *Athens*, under an Administration like that of *Pericles*, in whom all these Qualifications met.

We may chance to read of Persons at the Head of Affairs, either in our own or other Countries, with *one* or *two* of these great Requisites, and even *that* has been accounted extraordinary, but where we meet with *a Person* possessed with all these, it is a certain Mark, that *he is the Man*, under whom public Good and national Glory is to be expected; and wherever they are to be found, be it at *Athens* or *Rome*, be it in *Turkey*

* Καὶ τοῖς τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε, ὅς ἔστιν ὁ πῶς οἰομαι εἶναι, γινῶσκει τὰ δεῦντα, καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα, φιλοπολὶς τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων—ὅτε γὰρ γνῆς καὶ μὴ σαφῶς διδάξαι, εὐ ἴσω εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐνεθυμήθῃ· ὅ τ' ἔχων ἀμφοτέρω, τῇ δὲ πολὺ δυνάμει, καὶ αὐτὸς οἰκείως τι οἰκείως φράζοι. προσούλος δὲ καὶ τῆς, χρημάτων δὲ πικρῶμεν, ταῖς πανταῖς τῆς ἐνός αὐτοῦ πωλοῖτο.

Periclis Concio apud Thucid. Lib. ii. p. 137.

Edit. Wechel. Francofurt. 1594.

Turkey or in *England*, that State must infallibly flourish in the Nature of Things ; for a Knowledge disinterested, and an Eloquence honest and well designed, the first to contrive, and the other to persuade wholesome Measures, never missed their Aim in making their Country glorious and happy.—On the other Hand, wherever we have seen the Decadence and Decline of Kingdoms and Empires, it was where Ignorance, Avarice and Corruption had sap'd all the Foundations of public Spirit, in order to build their Nests on the Ruins of their Country. But though these Instances of Virtue are rare, and seldomer to be found in modern Histories, than antient States, among whom we every now and then meet with amazing Examples of Ability and Integrity ; yet as the human Soul acts as uniformly now as it did two thousand Years ago, and lies open to the same uncorrupt and virtuous Motives, that warmed the Patriots of antient *Greece*, why may we not expect the same Effects ? Why not a *Pericles* be the Growth of *Britain*, as well as it was the Produce of *Athens* ?

It will therefore be doing some Service to my Countrymen, to let them see, that those very Qualifications in a Minister, that raised the *Athenian* State to such a high Pitch of Grandeur and Prosperity, are happily united in that Part of our Administration, by whom the public Affairs seem at present to be directed ; and that as they found all they wanted in their *Pericles*, we have every Thing to hope and expect from our *PITT*.

It is not the Design of these Pages to launch into fulsome Flattery, and Panegyric, but to speak the Words of Truth and Soberness. Not to dazzle the Eyes of the Reader with false Colours and specious Representations. No ; he shall have fair Play.—He shall be his own Judge, and by laying down these four Qualifications of a complete Minister given by *Pericles*, he shall compare the Conduct of Mr. P— by this Rule, and see how far he answers these Requisites, *as a Man of Knowledge, a Man of Eloquence, a Lover of his Country, with a Contempt of Riches*, and if upon fair and impartial Examination, he shall be found to be

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that *able, honest and disinterested* Minister here described, — I shall felicitate my Country on having a Man at her Head, formed upon that Plan of *Pericles*, that made himself *glorious*, and his Country *happy*.

We will therefore consider Mr. *P* — in the first Place, with Regard to the Qualification of *Knowledge*, of which there are various Sorts proper to the Stations, in which it is required. There is the Knowledge of a Mechanic as well as of a Philosopher, and a Science in Musick as well as in Politicks. The Knowledge therefore we are concerned to find in our Minister, is that Knowledge that is necessary and proper for a Statesman, by which I don't mean those little Tricks and Subterfuges, those Arts of deceiving and Surprize, which generally go under the modern Name of *Politicks*. But by Knowledge in a Statesman I mean, that manly comprehensive View, that he ought to have, of the Interests of his Country, how far they interfere with, or may be obstructed by those of other Nations, wherein his own Strength consists, and the Weakness of his Enemy lies, where he can act with Effect and where an Impression can easiest be made upon

upon his Adversary; where he may hazard least, and where the Enemy can suffer most.

In the next Place, he must proportion his Care to his Designs, he must be active and lose no Opportunities, he must watch every Incident, and provide for every Contingency, so far I mean as human Prudence can foresee; he must be diligent and not waste that Time on himself and his Pleasures, which is due to the Public.

But besides this Policy, that becomes necessary from Apprehensions of our Enemies, there is another Kind, that relates to the interior Government of the People, that is, to provide for their Peace and Contentment, by securing to them their just Liberties, and guarding them not only from the Oppression and Wrong of others, but by putting it out of their Power, in some Cases, to hurt themselves; to restrain Licentiousness, and cut off as much as may be, the Occasion of the Corruption of their Morals.

Another Part of political Knowledge, is, to endeavour to make the great Weight of Taxes and Impositions as light to the Subject, as may be; that the People may

pay them with Chearfulness, when they find, that however burthensome they may be, yet they are necessary to their own Welfare, but the Matter of the greatest Consequence is, to keep them easy and satisfied under this Load, is to let them see, that they are not carelessly squandered away, but laid out with Judgment and managed with Frugality, with Integrity ; and when People thus see that they have their Pennyworth for their Penny, they will be the more ready to answer with Supply, when the public Exigency calls for it. In short, the Knowledge proper to a Statesman, is that good Understanding, joined to Experience, which enables him to provide for the good Government, the Glory, and the Prosperity of his Country.

Let us bring Mr. *P*—'s Conduct to this Rule, and examine, how far he has shewn this Knowledge as a Statesman. But let us recollect first, what were the Circumstances, what the Situation we were in, when he entered upon the Administration.

—Our Fleets had fled before our Enemies ; the Fortrefs of *Mahon* and

and Island of *Minorca* taken; our Troops defeated in *North America*, and on which Side soever you looked upon our Affairs, they carried a melancholly and distressed Aspect. The national Reputation lost, the Honour of the Navy basely given up, together with the repeated Unsuccess of our Affairs in *America*, had extinguished the Ardor, and damped the Confidence that used to be the Characteristic of an *Englishman*.— I don't mean that Confidence that unadvisedly presumes on the Weakness of an Enemy, but that Confidence that arises from a Persuasion and Feeling of our own national Virtue and Bravery. There was then hardly Spirit enough left us even to hope that Matters might be recovered, such was the Dejection that reigned universally.— And so great was the Consternation, that the Pilots at the Helm were at a Stand for some Time, while the great Ship of the Public drove,— the Sport of every Wind. Such then was our Situation in the Beginning of the Year 1757, when Mr. P— came into Business.

The first Thing he did, was to insult the Coast of *France* with a great Armament, which alarmed the

the whole Country, and employed 100,000 Men in different Parts of their Country to watch their Motions, and be prepared for their Descent; which by some Means not necessary to be mentioned here, was not carried into Execution,—But unsuccessful as it was in this Point, it however made such a Diversion as the *French* Affairs in *America* soon felt the Effect of; and from which Period, the Rapidity of their Successes began to receive the first Check.

The Wisdom of this Measure was so obvious, and so agreeable to our naval Strength, which by appearing on the Enemy's Coast, would keep in perpetual Alarm and Fatigue 100,000 Men, not knowing where to expect the Descent, that it is surprizing, it had not been practised before. But, I know not how, nor for what *Reason*, it was certainly a Maxim in the Mouths of some Men at that Time, *That we must not provoke France*. Such a Complaisance as this to our Enemy, plainly shews the Timidity of those Councils, that had not Firmness or Constancy enough to pursue, what they knew was right, with Resolution and Vigour. It was not for Want of Power, it was not for Want of

of good Intention, let us do them that Justice ; it was rather a Defect in the Constitution of those Men, whose Spirits could rise no higher, than a *fixed Point*, which drew after it Inattention and Inactivity with Regard to the Public. There is a certain Degree of animal Warmth, that goes to form a Greatness of Mind, and Actions of Eclat were never performed by feeble, faint, languishing Attempts, which serve only to bring on Consumption and Decay by slow Steps, and imperceptible Degrees.

Let us now turn our Eyes towards the Actions of the Year 1758, which by their Events, we may dare to pronounce, were plan'd with Judgment and executed with Bravery. In the Month of *June* an Expedition was fitted out against the *French Coast*, which gave such an Alarm, as produced its desired Effect, by making a powerful Diversion, and causing a Recall of Part of the *French Army* in *Germany* ; after the Departure of which, they never attempted any Thing of Importance, though twice the Number of the Allies.—The Storm fell upon *St. Malo*, where we destroyed upwards
of

of an hundred Ships, a great Part of which, were Privateers, that had been a perpetual Annoyance to our Trade, the rest were Merchantmen.

The next Attempt was upon *Cherburg*, where we demolished that Basin, which was contrived to hold a sufficient naval Armament, that might run upon our Coasts in a few Hours Time, and make a Descent before it was possible to prevent it.

I am told the Books relating to the Expence of building that Work, fell into the Hands of some of our Officers at that Time, by which it appeared, that it had cost, in a few Years, a Sum equal to twelve hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

The Importance of this Blow was not only considerable by the Damage done the Enemy, but it gave Life and Spirit to our People ; it made them feel their own Legs again, and look a *Frenchman* in the Face, without any of those Apprehensions that had grown out of our past ill Successes. It was then we saw Cannon and Colours,—
Trophies

Trophies taken off the Walls of our Enemies, carried in Triumph. A Spectacle this Generation was a Stranger to.

Soon after this, we took the Gum Settlement of *Senega* in *Africa*, by which Means we not only supply our own Manufactures with this valuable Drug, before bought from our Enemies at their own Price; but if we can keep it, we shall be able to furnish all *Europe*, as the *French* did before, and bring thence a large R  venue into the Kingdom.

The next Operation of this Year was as glorious as it was important. It was the taking of *Louisburg* and the Island of *Cape Breton*, and taking or destroying six Men of War of the Line, and five Frigates. — The Island of *St. John*, the Magazine of their northern Settlements; and *Caspey* the Storehouse of their Winter Stock of Fish, which when it was burnt by *Sir Charles Hardy*, amounted to the Value of 60,000*l. English*. The pitiable Consequences of this last hard but necessary Measure, we have lately had an Account of, in the Death of

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Numbers of poor People in *Canada* and the *French* Settlements, that have perished thro' Hunger.

I pass over the Particulars of the taking *Fort Frontenac* and *Fort du Quesne*, either of which, a few Years ago, would singly have been sufficient, to have marked down that Year as glorious, in which it had happened.

But as if nothing was enough while we had Time to do more, two other Armaments were fitted out, the Success of that to *Goree* we have lately had an Account of ; and we trust that the same Wisdom and Spirit that has animated all the Undertakings of the last Year, will bring the other to a happy issue.

I know it will be said here, have we not had our Defeats as well as our Victories? True ; but Ministers are not to be answerable for Errors in Execution, where human Imperfections, or the unavoidable Accidents of War may defeat the wisest Precaution, and the best-laid Designs. But
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you will say, why then, did not the Minister take better Care in the Appointment of his Generals?—Remember, the General, that was so unfortunate to command at *St. Cas*, was He, that a few Weeks before, had demolished the Harbour of *Cherbourg*,—and if you will not remember it,—the *French* will.—But as if such a Number of Expeditions, and such a Series of Victories were not sufficient for the Course of one Year—Preparations have been made, for striking the last Stroke at *Quebec*, as soon as the Passage is open and free'd from the Ice.—And if we can cut off that Head of the Dragon, all the Members will fall in Course, and *North America* be reduced in a few Months, which a Year or two ago, was thought to be the Work of an Age, if ever practicable. All this, every Man in *England* knows to be true.

We have thus far seen in Mr. *P*— that political Knowledge (from the Effects of it, which are the best Proof) that in a Year's Time has extorted from our Enemies, a Confession of our Superiority at Sea.—We have seen their Navy more than half destroyed or taken,—

their Coasts insulted, their Harbours blocked up, their Forts demolished, their Settlements seized,—their Trade almost ruined—their Finances so exhausted by foreign Subsidies, so as not to have sufficient for their own Uses—Such Revolutions in their Ministry in the Cabinet, such superseeding of their Generals in the Field.—In short, such a Derangement and Confusion in their Affairs, as do Honour to the Wisdom of our Counsels, and the Vigour of our late Operations.

It must be owned indeed, that all this is attended with great, very great Expences.—But even this is Wisdom—For every Man must acknowledge, that it is better to make our utmost Efforts for two or three Years, than be spinning on an unsuccessful War for six or seven.—The Expence in the Main is the same, or perhaps less—but the Fruits and Consequences very different—for by the Blessing of God on our Arms, we have done and shall do, more in two or three Years by these Means, and acting in earnest, than was done in the last War in seven, at the Expence of sixty Millions, or ever would have been done, had we gone on in
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the same sauntering Way—without Object—without Plan.—But it is to be expected, above all, that as the *French* are now come even to beg Peace, when we grant it, that we shall give it upon such substantial and permanent Security, as will put it out of their Power, ever to disturb it again in that Quarter.—If Mr. PITT can gain this for his Country, he will give them a good Account of their Millions.

This Sufficiency of Mr. P.—in foreign Affairs, I have chosen to consider more particularly, because *that* was the Side, on which before we were most defective; and for Want of which, our Fleets have covered the Seas to no Purpose, and our Armies made Campaigns in their Quarters.—Whereas the Effects that we have experienc'd under his short Administration in twelve Months, are convincing and undeniable Proofs—That *He is a vigilant, active and able Minister.*

But there are Abilities of another Kind, also to be expected in a Statesman, I mean such as regard the interior Polity

Polity of the Government he has the Direction of.—And here I shall only hint at those Bills, that in the two last Sessions of Parliament, either passed or were intended to pass into Laws; for the Ease, the Security, and Safety of the Subject.

It was thought by some, that in an Island, and Constitution such as ours is, we might use our Regular Forces with more Effect and Advantage, if we were to train up a certain Number of Militia, that in their Absence, should replace the Garrisons, guard the Coasts, and be ready upon any sudden Emergency, to go out in Defence of their Property and Families. And as this carried all the Appearance of public Utility, many considerable Men desired a Law to this Effect.—Mr. Secretary P—— not only approved of the Measure, as a private Man, but at the first Opportunity supported it as a Minister, and gave it all the Weight and Assistance, that a Matter of such Consequence, pressed by two Thirds of the Nation, required.—But although it might be doubtful, whether it would answer the End proposed,—yet Mr. P—— thought it very proper,

per, to give it a fair Trial for the Satisfaction of its Patrons, and the Demand of the People.—He knew it could do no Harm; and if it did not succeed, he had the Satisfaction of complying with the almost universal Opinion,—and giving the People an Opportunity of convincing themselves of the Impracticability of it, if it was impracticable.—It might be an useful Measure, at the worst, it was only an Experiment.—But such a one as shews he laid hold of all Opportunities, where he saw the least Probabilities of doing Good to his Country.

The next public Step he took, was a Design to secure the Subject from vexatious Imprisonments, by settling the *Habeas Corpus Act*, upon such a Footing, as might extend to all Cases, and not be confined by the Interpretations of Lawyers, to serve only such Purposes as pleased them.

There is nothing so valuable to a Man, as the Liberty of his Person, without which all other Enjoyments would lose their Relish.—It is this that distinguishes the Happiness of an *Englishman* from all the other

other Subjects in the World.—Nothing but Felony, High Treason and Murder can take away his Liberty.—It is for this End, that the Governor is as much confined by Law, as the Governed; no arbitrary Power can operate in this Case.—This was the great Object of *Magna Charta*, the Petition of Right in the Time of *Charles* the First, and the Declaration of Right at the Revolution.—But when it was found that the Effect of this excellent Provision was to depend upon the Decisions of Lawyers, and the Operation of it to be directed by their Opinions, it was thought proper to prevent any ill Uses that might be drawn from the vague and doubtful Construction of it, to give it a new Form, and make it so explicit and declaratory, that no Chicanery of the Law, no ministerial Influence in Times future, should ever be able to endanger this precious and valuable Right of the Subject, or render the *Habeas Corpus Act*, the great Bulwark of it, ineffectual and useless.—But as a Matter of this Consequence required the utmost Deliberation, it was put off to this Session, when we are to expect a Bill for that Purpose, drawn by a most judicious and able Hand.—

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The Observation I would make here, is, that a Conduct of this Sort in a Minister, was not only beneficial with Regard to the Design of restoring the original Vigour to the Law itself,—but it was also a promising Omen, that He, who was so tender of the People's Rights in this Case, never designed, in the Course of his Administration, to infringe them, or break through any Law, by which their other just Liberties were secured.

The Provision for the better Payment of the Navy, was another Instance of his Care and Concern for the Public, —As our Situation is an Island, a Circumstance that *Pericles* wanted only to make his Country impregnable * ; the great Object of a Minister, is to take Order, that our Navy be kept in the most respectable Condition possible.—Upon this depends our Commerce, upon our Commerce our Riches, and upon our Riches our Power.

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* Εὐγὰρ κενὴ νηυσὶ καὶ τιμῇσι ἀνὰ ἀληπτοτέροις ἦσαν.

Thucidid. Concio Periclis, Lib. i. p. 96.

We are in much the same State in this Respect with the *Athenians*—Though their Situation gave them not all our Advantages, yet by their Industry and Attention to their Naval Affairs, they improved it so, as that in the Time of *Pericles*, their Strength by Sea was become so formidable, that he tells them, *No King or Nation whatever could contend with them* *.

This Dominion of the Sea, was owing indeed in some Measure to the Negligence of their Neighbours, in paying their Quota in Money rather than Ships, by which they suffered their Naval Strength to decay, and the whole Care of providing Ships, happily to fall into the Hands of the *Athenians*, which Advantage they took Care to avail themselves of, and used it afterwards, as the Means of extending their Power, over whomsoever they pleased.——

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* Καὶ ἔχειν οὕτως τὴν υπαρχομένην τὴν ναυτικὴν πλεονεχίαν ἡμᾶς, ὥστε βασιλεὺς κωλύσει ὥστε ἄλλο ἔθνος πρὸς τὸν τῶν παρόντων.

Thucid. Ibid.

But it was not this accidental Help from *Abroad*, but the continued Application to this Business at *Home*, that made them so formidable, so considerable.—As their Navies were their Defence, they were also the Carriers of all the Riches of *Asia*, and Directors not only of the Commerce, but also, by those Means, of the Interests of all the neighbouring Nations.—So that *Pericles* had good Reason to say, that *The Mastery of the Sea is of the highest Importance* *. A Saying that ought always to be remembered by an *Englishman*.

For these same Reasons Mr. P— employed his first Thoughts, to make the best Provision, for the Supply of the Navy ; which ought to be the chief Object of our Attention, because it is the Foundation of all our Happiness, the Source of our Riches, our Importance and Security. It is *that*, which protects our Trade, it is *that* which of late, has filled the Memorials of our Enemies with Complaints of covering the

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Seas

* Μεγα γαρ το της θαλασσης κρατος;

Ibid.

Seas with our Fleets.—It is this that puts us out of the Reach of Insult and Surprise, and makes us easy in our Beds, when Half the Continent of *Europe* at this Time, is exposed to Plunder, Devastation and Carnage.

However Mr. *Peticles* finding a great Defect in the Administration of the Navy, which arose from the Want of a sufficient Stock of Seamen, to be ready to man our Ships when wanted, and apprehending this to be occasioned in some Measure, by the Delays in Payment of the Seamen's Wages, till the Return of each respective Ship, which sometimes happens (especially in *East India* Voyages) not to be in five or six Years, during which Time, the Wives of these Sailors have not been able to get any Subsistence for themselves and Families.— Upon these Considerations, he caused a Bill to be brought into Parliament, for the Allowance of Part of a Sailor's Wages to be paid, if required, to his Family at Home; whilst he is employed in the Service of his Country Abroad.—

Under

Under such Encouragements as these, Sailors will not enter into the Service of the Navy, with such Reluctance as formerly; because they see, that *now* they are not working for nothing, as they used to call it, but that their Children were to be brought up and fed, by the Fruit of their Father's Labours.—Whilst these useful Men are thus tenderly dealt with, and treated with such Consideration, as is undoubtedly due to their Importance; we may hope never to want a sufficient Naval Strength, to assert the Dominion of the Seas, and answer all the other Ends required by a Maritime Country; besides, while proper Care is taken to supply his Pay, which is the only Object of the Sailor, there will be no fear of his going over to our Enemies, to gain that Livelihood, that he would chuse to earn in the Service of his own Country.—The Importance therefore of every able Seaman to his Country, will justify the Measure taken to ascertain him his Reward, and thereby engage him to the Public, whenever he may be wanted.

I think I need not proceed to other Instances to shew how much Mr. P—— is possessed of that *γυναι τα δευτα*, that *necessary Knowledge* that *Pericles* requires in the first Place, in his *Statesman*; and how well he knew to make Use of those Talents that he had acquired, not, for Parade, but Use *, not for Speculation, but that he might be the better qualified to serve his Country when called upon †.—What Proofs have we not met with, of this in foreign Affairs within these twelve Months past?—How well his Designs have been laid, the Successes attending them will declare,—and the Enemies of his Country, yea the Enemies of himself, if there should be such Men, will confess. I will conclude this Article, with an Observation of King *Archidamus* in *Thucydides*, that *That Man is always to be counted able, that knows how to act in Affairs of the greatest Consequence* §.—

We

* *Non paranda solum sed fruenda Sapientia.*

Cicero de Finibus, lib. i.

† *Quo firmiter adversum sortuita, rempublicam capesseret.*

Tacit. 4 Hist. de Helvidio.

§ *Κρατιστον ειναι ος εις εν τοις αυτακτατοις πινδευει.* Archidam. Concio apud Thucydid.

Lib. i. p. 56.

We come next to the second Qualification laid down by *Pericles*, in his Character of a *Statesman*, and as the first was *to be able to take good Measures, the next was to be qualified to speak to them.*

This Talent here required, was chiefly adapted to the *Athenian* State, which being a Democracy, every Man fond of his Liberty, and big with the Opinion of his Importance, as Part of the Government, took upon him to question every Measure, and oppose what he did not, thro' Ignorance or Obstinacy, approve of.—For this and some other Reasons that took their Rise from the same Cause, *Eloquence* became a necessary Part of a Statesman's Character at *Athens*; by which he might either take Advantage of the good Humour of the People for the Furtherance of his Designs, or divert their Resentments and capricious Opposition of them.

Although indeed our Constitution be not the same, yet there is the same Necessity for the Talents of Eloquence and

and Oratory, in a Minister of *Great Britain*, as there was in the Demagogues of *Athens*.—

Contention for Power and an unbounded Avarice in order to supply to Diffipation and Dissoluteness, has unhappily been found, more or less, in every Government, in every Age—From hence proceeds *Faction*, a Word big like the *Trojan Horse*, with every Evil against that Country, where it is found.

We may remember it a Maxim in Politicks in a certain Country, began about thirty Years ago, that in order to pull down a Minister, it was necessary, always to oppose him *right or wrong*.—The most reasonable and expedient Measure, was not to be taken for the public Good, lest it might contribute also to fix his Credit; nor the most apparent public Necessity complied with, lest it might do Honour to his Administration—A Principle such as this, would not only change the Nature of Man, but the ordinary Meaning of Words,—for by this Rule Anarchy and Confusion would be the best Mode of Government; factious Distraction the best Polity,

Polity, and the best Way to support the Public, would be to weaken and distress it.

In a Case like this, how uneasy and difficult must be the Situation of a Minister, who at every Call, is to explain and lay open the Uprightness of his Intentions, and the Utility of his Measures?—What Eloquence does he not stand in need of, to take off Prejudices, to lay open Insinuations, to wipe off false Glosses, detect Falshood, both in Reasoning and Fact, and to answer all the Objections, that the Art or Malignity of a Competitor can throw in his Way?—What Oratory is required to awaken, to persuade, to convince, the Hearts of those, that come resolved, neither to be awakened, nor persuaded, nor convinced?—*Plutarch* tells a Story of *Julius Cæsar*, that one Day, when *Cicero* was to make a Defence of *Ligarius*, he said to some of his Friends, come, let us go and hear *Cicero*, though it shall not save *Ligarius*.—But no sooner had the Orator begun his Speech, but he felt himself sensibly affected, bye-and-bye he changed Colour, and in the Course of the Harangue, was at last so agitated and overcome,

come, that he dropt unknowingly the Papers he had in his Hand, through Attention and Surprize, and was forced to acquit *Ligarius* in *Spight of himself* *.

We have seen as wonderful Effects of Oratory among ourselves, and our *English* Demagogues have been obliged to confess the Force of Mr. P—'s Eloquence.—How oft have they came like *Cæsar* to oppose and condemn, what before they departed, they were obliged to approve, to confirm?—What must have been the Force of that Address, that could make Men drop, not only their Papers, but their Attachments, let go, not only their Designs, but their Animosities; forget not only their Prejudices, but their Interests?—How powerful the Enchantment of these Sounds, that could thus run away with Men even from themselves?—

When first Mr. P— entered upon the Administration, no Doubt was

* Του γυν ανθρωπου απελυσθ της αιτιας βεβαιωμενος.

Plutarch. Vit. Ciceron.

was made, but he would soon be talked out of his Department.—All the Tongues that were thought worth employing, were sharpened and prepared for the Attack.—But after the first Fire that was returned upon each feeble, fruitless Attack,—the baffled Oracles became dumb, and the *Brazen Head spoke no more.*

And indeed, how was it possible that Faction, and Falshood, and Avarice could stand their Ground, against the Thunderings and Lightenings of public Spirit, of Truth, of Disinterestedness *. Virtues such as these in a Minister, cloathed with all the Power of Speech, and Energy of Elocution, must drive before them, all the Pretensions of false Ambition, and dirty Self-Interest.—

F 2 Ac-

* *Plutarch* in the Life of *Pericles*, observes, that they used to say of him when he spake in Public, that he thunder'd and lightned, and carried terrible Thunderbolts on his Tongue.

—Βρονταν μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀστραπίζειν, ὅτε δημηγορεῖν, δεινὸν δὲ κεραινοῦν ἐν γλώσσῃ φερεῖν.

Accordingly, we have seen Oppositions, that at first breaking out, threatened nothing but Havock and Overthrow, suddenly subside and disappear, upon pronouncing the Charm, that always resides, in an upright honest Eloquence.

To this it is owing, that we have seen Faction draw in its Head, all Opposition cease, all Jealousies laid asleep, or at least composed, and the Honour and Interest of the Public *only*, carried on with Unanimity, with Vigour, with Success.—And surely Eloquence never appeared more, to be a Quality necessary in a Minister, than at this Conjunction.—When Mr. P—— has demonstrated, that it is to *that* joined with Truth and Integrity, that we owe the Uninterruption of our Measures *at Home*, the due Operation of our Counsels *Abroad*, and the very considerable Figure we make at this Time in *Europe*.

The Opponents therefore of this great Man must do him the Justice, to acknowledge, what with great Candour

dour was said of *Pericles*, by his Rival *Thucydides*.——That he was the most powerful Orator, and the most able Statesman of his Time *.

But, as *Pericles* observed, what is the Use of these Talents, great as they confessedly are, if they are not directed by the *Love of our Country*? If the extensive Knowledge, and political Experience of a Minister, be not employed for the public Utility,—if his Eloquence is not profitable to his Country, what he says goes for nought, and what he knows is worse than Ignorance. We have seen Examples of this in *Rome*, in *Athens* and in *England*, and there has been no Nation under Heaven, [in which there have not been Men, who (in the Words of the Roman Historian) *optimis ingeniis male usi, et facundi Malo publico* †.

Wherever States have been unsettled, and Governments overturned it

* *Λεγειν τε και πρασσειν δυνατωτατος.*

Thucidid. Lib. i. p. 92.

† *Patercul. Rom. Histor.*

it has not been by Men of moderate Abilities and the ordinary Size of Understanding.— It has been by those—who conscious of their own Superiority, have made use of their Capacity, for their own Advantage, and considered the Public only as a Ladder to stand upon, that they might reach the higher.— In this Case the Order of Nature is perverted, and what ought to have been the greatest Excellence and Glory of a Man, and the utmost Happiness of a People, becomes, by Misapplication, the greatest Calamity of the one, and the foulest Reproach of the other.—A Man let loose into the World with all these dangerous Instruments about him, and an evil Mind to set them at work, is only the more able to do hurt, and like a great wild Beast, has Power and Strength only to do the more Mischief.—I remember it was severely said by Lord Digby, upon the Bill for the Attainder of Lord Strafford, that *the Malignity of his Practices, was hugely aggravated by those rare Abilities of his, of which God had given him the Use, but the Devil the Application.*—How true the Reflection was in that particular Case, I shall not enquire, I only take Notice that the Principle

Principle of his Argument was just and right ; for wherever eminent Qualities are misapplied, the bad Consequences of such Deviation and wrong Direction increase in Proportion to the Distance from that Rectitude, that has the public Good for its Centre ; for as the Virtues, so are the Vices of great Minds attended with the most extraordinary Effects, in Proportion to their Magnitude.

But as this *Strength of Genius* too often draws after it an *Impotence of Mind*, which is unable to resist the Cajoleries of Vanity, and too weak to make Head against the Invitations of Self-Interest.——

Wherever we find it in its native Splendor, exerting itself with Uprightness, Modesty, and true Patriotism, without any Views of Self, without any Object predominant over public Spirit.——There, it becomes the Gift of God, the Glory of Man, and a Blessing to Society.——

Let us examine Mr. P——'s Conduct by this Rule, and enquire how far his Knowledge and Eloquence have been employed for the Good of his Country,
and

and here we shall find him the Reverse of what was said of *Cinna*, and our Countryman *Hampden*.—Whatever he contrived, it was for the Honour and Interest of *Britain*,—wherever he tried to persuade, it was to shew the Expediency of carrying these Measures into Execution,—It was to open the Eyes, and enlighten the Understanding of those that by false Prejudices, and ill-grounded Maxims had been taught to believe, the Power of *France irresistible*, and our best Efforts *ineffectual*.—But when he took the Reins of Government, he dispensed Light, and Warmth and Activity through all the *British* Empire, and stirr'd up that native Fire in the Heart of every *Englishman*, that had long lay languid and almost extinct.

I have already observed the Success of our Arms under his Direction, I shall only take Notice at present, that we have not only shewed ourselves superior to the Enemies in that respect, but that our Trade has flourished so much in this short Period, that perhaps was never equal'd in *Britain*.

Ask

Ask any Merchant on the Exchange of *London*, (whatever the Sect of his Religion or Politicks may be,) of the State of our Trade; he will honestly own, that the Trade of this Kingdom, never flourished so much, as at this Day.—Nor was that of our Enemies, ever so threatened with Ruin.

Whence then all this Prosperity and Thriving?—Is not this, from Measures well taken, and well executed?—Where the Benefits and Advantages accrue to the Public, it is a Proof that the Spirit that dictated and directed those Counsels, was public too.

Perhaps it may be said that what we place to the Love of Country in this Gentleman, may arise from other Motives,—and that in a Heart flaming with the Pretence of Patriotism, there may be concealed some Particles of inordinate Ambition and Lust of Power *.

G

Be

* *Erant quibus appetentior fama videretur, quando etiam Sapientibus, cupido Gloriæ novissima exuitur.*

Tacit. 4 Histor. de Helvidio.

Be it so—I congratulate my Country, on having a Minister that aspires to the Height of Power, only to be the better able to do her Service,—that is fired with the highest Ambition, only to have the more Opportunity of proving himself her most faithful Servant.—Ambition is a Virtue, when its Object is just, and Desire of excelling is the noblest Principle of human Actions *. And therefore where it meets with Rectitude of Heart, it is capable of doing more Good, in Proportion as it aspires after the Means of doing it.—But where this Desire is not; where a Man, let his Station be what it will, does not feel this Spur of Reputation and Glory, no great Thing is ever to be expected from him; because this is the Stock, upon which all Virtues and great Actions are grafted; and for which Reason, I can easily conceive the Poet judiciously joined them together.

Vincit amor Patriæ, laudisque immensa Cupido †.

If

• *Optimos Mortalium altissima cupere.*——

Unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui Memoriam, nam contemptu famæ, contemni Virtutes.

Tacit. Annal. 4.

† Virgil. Æneid. vi. 823.

If it be asked, what is Love of Country?—It is the highest Exertion of that Quality, that is the chief Ornament and Duty of human Nature.—Acts of Kindness and Benevolence towards Individuals, towards Friends, Relations or Neighbours, proceed from sweet and amiable Dispositions, and conciliate the Love and Esteem of those, that feel the kind Effects of them.—But when that Benignity and Love is not confined to Neighbour, to Friends or Relations, but extended to every Individual in Society, and to every Interest of every Individual; what must be the Glory and Value of that Man, that thus watches over the Community, and what must be the Gratitude due from the Public to his Virtues †.

Whatever has been the Ambition, and Desire of Popularity in Mr. P—, he does not challenge it *gratis*, he offers his Country a valuable Consideration

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for

† *Cari sunt parentes, curi, liberi, propinqui, Familiares; sed omnes omnium Caritates patria una complexa est.* Cicer. de Officiis. Lib. i.

for it, and pays them in *substantial Service*, before he exacts their Approbation ; he does not ask this Reward as a Favour, he claims it as his Due.

It was a Part of the patriot Character of *Cato*, that he was born to do every Thing right, that he was concerned in * ; but if this should be thought to be a little overcharged by the Historian — Our Patriot will be content, that his Name, should go down to Posterity, as a Minister, that ever meant well ; and as one of the *Scipios* was honoured by the Voice of the whole Senate, with the Title of *Optimus Vir*. — Mr. PITT hopes to be thought, not only by the Senate, but by every Man in Britain, to endeavour, to deserve it. —

But these great Qualities of Knowledge, of Eloquence and Patriotism, have not always been employed for public Utility. — They have served for varnishing over Designs not the most laudable, and been specious Coverings to Self-Love and pri-

* *Natus ad omnia, quæ recte facienda sunt.*

Patercul.

private Interest.—For which Reason, *Pericles* supposes, his Statesman not complete, unless he joins to all these *Disinterestedness and a Mind superior to Riches*, χρημάτων κρείστων. —

For says he, though he has all the others, if he be overcome by the Attention to Riches, he will sell all the rest for the obtaining of this one Thing.

It was the Observation of *Livy* *, founded in Experience, and collected from the History of the Heart of Man, that private Views always did, and always will, obstruct and defeat public Counsels, and indeed it is impossible it should be otherwise; for if that Stream of Attention that ought to run in full Current into the Concerns of the Community, should at any Time, be diverted and divided into private Canals, the Public must lose just as much Strength and Vigour, as there is Nourishment taken from her, and conveyed elsewhere.

* *Privatæ res semper officere, officientique, publicis Consiliis.*

Liv. Lib. xxii.

Avaritia omnia venalia habere, edocet.

Sallust. Catalin.

Private Interest.—If Avarice should once be the ruling Passion of a Minister, who generally has in his Power the Means of gratifying it, at the Expence of his Country; there is no Advantage of the State that he will not give up in Exchange for his own Interest.—He will employ his political Chymistry, to extract Gold out of every Thing, nothing will be thought base that is profitable, and the Honour and Prosperity of his Country will be sold to the best Bidder.—It was for this Reason, that the Thebans made a Law, that no Man that had not quitted Trade for ten Years, should be employed in any Part of the Government *. Because, where a Mind has been accustomed to have nothing in view but Profit and Gain, as it generally happens in Trade; it would be with Difficulty, drawn off from that Attention, and more easily inclined to postpone the public Welfare, to private Profit.—The Love of Money that used to direct their Thoughts in Business, would be insensibly derived into the Administration

* Εἰς θηβαιῶν νόμος ὅτι τοὺς δέκα ἔτους μὴ ἀπεχόμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς, μὴ μετέχειν ἀρχῆς.

Aristotel. Politic. Lib. iii. c. 5.

tration of Affairs ; and of this we have seen many Instances in a neighbouring State, where private Commerce has been carried on with the Enemies of the Country, and Governors been tempted by an advanced Price to connive at the Supply of warlike Stores to those very People, that were in actual War with them ; and perhaps their Community never suffered so much from any Circumstance in their Affairs, as from this national Character, of turning every Thing into Gain.—And, I believe the Observation will hold good, that no Nation or People of commercial Genius, where the Government was immediately in the Hand of Merchants, ever were famous for any great Action ; and the Reason seems to be plain, because their whole Thoughts having been used to turn upon themselves and their own Advantages, they were incapable of thinking greatly *, and unable to break through those narrow selfish Restraints, and give that Preference to the Public, that they were used to appropriate to their own Affairs.

If

* * γὰρ οἷον τ' ἐπιτηδεύει τα τῆς ἀρετῆς.

Aristot ubi supra.

If this Attention to Money in the Genius of a People, be Detrimental to their Concerns, how much more so, how flagitious must it be in a Minister, whose Thoughts and Actions will perpetually terminate on himself; with the Power in his Hand to gratify the most insatiable Avarice, and sacrifice his Country's Interest, to his own private Considerations.

We need not go back into antient Times to see Examples of this sordid, dishonourable and destructive Passion.

What a mean and pitiable Figure, does the great Constable *Montmorency* make, with all his other Virtues and Abilities about him, that had raised him to be the most powerful, rich, and honourable Person in his Country; when the Historian closes his Character, by saying, that he was *the worst Friend, because the whole Course of his Actions was directed by Self-Interest* *.

And

* *Ma di cattivo amico, afirmando che il proprio Interesse regiva sempre il corso di tutte l'azioni sue.* — Davila, Hist. delle Guerre Civil. di Franc. Liv. iv. An. 1566.

And how sorry are we to find the Dignity of the Admiral *Coligny*, which we used to look up at with Reverence and Respect, wither and die away at the Instant that we read, that he *was a Man, that in every Thing he did, his chief Attention was to procure his own Interest, by every Method **.

Each of these great Men was at the Head of his Party, and each had like to have ruined it, by this *Attention to Self*.

How great then must be the Happiness of a People, where Integrity and Disinterestedness sit at the Helm; and if Avarice in a Minister be an atrocious Crime, what is there not to be hoped for, from his Uprightness and Incorruption?

Riches in the Opinion of a great Part of the World, can purchase most of those Things that give Importance or agreeable Sensations, and for these Reasons are the Object of most Men's Pursuits.—To

H

ob-

* — *In tutte le cose inclinato ad attendere et a procurare per ogni modo, il suo privato Interesse.*

Davila. Liv. iv. An. 1569.

obtain them, we see them give up Honour, Fidelity, Probity, as *lesser Matters*, and chuse to be thought *rich* rather than *good Men*.— But where we find a Contempt of Riches and a Greatness of Mind, that makes Men superior to all those little Considerations that engage the far greater Part of the World.— There we may expect to meet every public Virtue in its full Lustre, which more or less are obscured, if not extinguished, by Avarice and Corruption.——

It is almost impossible a *disinterested Minister* should be a *bad Man* in his political Capacity, and that he that can resist the Love of Money, can submit to sacrifice his Country to any other Passion.— As therefore a Contempt of Riches is the Flower that grows out of the Combination of most other Virtues, so where it is found, it is, generally speaking, reciprocally attended by them*.—

But I should wander too far into Essay, if I was to indulge myself in

* *Maximèque admirantur eum, qui pecunia non movetur; quod, in quo Viro perspectum sit, hunc igni spectatum arbitrantur.*

Cic. de Officiis, Lib. ii.

in transcribing these and such like Sentiments, from the Character of Mr. P——, whose Conduct has been the best Comment, upon what has been said in the Precepts of Philosophers, or in the Maxims of Statesmen, in Detestation of Avarice and Self-Interest, and in Commendation and Praise of public Spirit and Incorruptness.

But it may be said, Mr. P——'s Administration is at present but in its Infancy, and *he* has not had Opportunities to shew, or the World Time enough to judge of him in this Respect, how far he may be superior to the Temptation of Money.— In Answer to this, I shall relate a Circumstance or two of Mr. P——'s public Life, that, the Reader is hereby assured, he may depend upon as Facts.

When this Gentleman was appointed some Years ago, to the Office of Pay-Master of the Forces, he found it had been customary to have 100,000*l.* by Advance, generally lie in the Hands of the Pay-Master, which in the Time of some of those that presided before him in that Office, used to be subscribed in Government Securities,

which brought 3 or 4000*l.* *per An.* more or less, into their private Purfes.—And in our Memory there happened a Conjunction, when this Money so subscribed into the Land-Tax, was called for upon an extraordinary Emergency for the Use of the Army,—but being locked up in the Exchequer, and all public Funds bearing a large Discount, it could not be sold but at such a great Loss, as would have been of the utmost Damage to the Subscriber. What was the Consequence—The Payment of the Army in the Time of War and Rebellion, was stop'd, when there was the greatest Occasion for public Credit and Punctuality in the Payment of those Troops, upon whom our *Whole* depended.

But when Mr. P— went into that Department, he placed whatever Sums of Money belonged to the Office, in the Bank, where they might be ready for the public Service, without ever appropriating any Part of it to his private Use, as had been the Custom of former Times; he never subscribed One Shilling into the Funds, nor ever availed himself of any Interest arising from public Monies at his Disposal, but was satisfied

fied with, and touched no more than the
legal Appointment,

The next Fact is,—that when the Parliament granted Subsidies to the King of *Sardinia* and Queen of *Hungary*, payable at his Office, Half *per Cent.* or more, used to be taken on the whole Subsidy, in the most reputable Times, and by those of the most approved Characters,—as a *Perquisite of Office* ;—this Mr. P—— refused, which would have come to a large Sum, as the Grants at that Time to both these Powers were very considerable.—When the King of *Sardinia* was told this, he could not help expressing his Surprize, at such an Instance of Greatness of Mind and Disinterestedness, and therefore ordered his Agent to offer the same Sum, as a Royal Present to Mr. P——, who had before refused it as a *Perquisite*.—His Answer to this was, that as the Parliament had granted those Sums for such Uses, he had no Right to any Part of the Money;—that he did no more than his Duty in paying it *entire*, and hoped the Refusal of the King's Present upon that Occasion, would not give Offence.—When his *Sardinian* Majesty heard this,
 he

he said—surely this *Englishman* was somewhat more than a Man.

Wonderful Virtue—
Instances of Disinterestedness and Magnanimity like this are not to be met with perhaps in our own, or the Annals of other Countries.

To abstain from what other Men by Example and Custom, and without too scrupulous Enquiry, took for granted to be lawful, because it was profitable, was such an exalted Act of pure *Probity*, as could proceed from nothing but the highest Sense of doing what was *right*; and indeed we see the *Contempt of Riches* so generally connected with *Rectitude of Heart*, that in whomsoever we find the one, it is a Presumption, that we have every Thing great and glorious to expect from his other Virtues *. And in this we are not disappointed, for it is to Mr. P——'s Vigilance likewise, that we

owe
* *Civis, Senator, Maritus, gener, amicus, cunctis vitæ officiis æquabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax constans adversus metus.*

Tacit. de Helvid. Lib. iv. Histor.

owe our Security ; to his Labours, our Repose ; to his Wisdom, our Prosperity.—

How justly then did *Pericles* require a Mind superior to the Love of Money to make it the Basis, on which the great Building of a true Statesman was to be raised,—without which all the other Qualities would be useless,—that is, without a Soul superior to Regards of Self-Interest, neither Knowledge, nor Eloquence, nor Love of Country, could answer any good Purposes,—for Knowledge without public Spirit to direct it, would be only a greater Ability to hurt.—Eloquence an insidious Abuse, and Art of deceiving,—and Patriotism only a specious Name to cover private Designs.—But when to these are joined *clean Hands, and an uncorrupt Heart*, it is *this* that gives the Fragrance to the whole Chaplet, it is *this* that gives the high Finishing to the Character of Mr. P.—

How great then must be the Satisfaction of every *Englishman*, to see the public Affairs in the Hand of such an *upright Minister* as this?—Who in every Employment

Employment acted as knowing that the main Object he ought to have in View was, that *he belonged to the Public, not the Public to him* * ? An Experience of this Kind, is a happy Presage, that he that was so singularly just in a Money Department, may always be depended upon for his Integrity, in every other Part of the Administration.

We have thus seen Mr. Secretary PITT, answering those Qualifications required by *Pericles* as necessary to form a *true Statesman*. — And while he employs them for the Honour and Interest of his Country, there is something due from his Country to him.

To avail ourselves of his Virtues, and to render them the more effectual, we should for our own Sakes, give him all the Assistance possible ; support, protect, defend him — We should open him a fair Field to operate in, remove all Incumbrances, banish all Faction, and lay aside all Animosity ;

• *Nec rempublicam tuam esse, sed te Reipublicam.* — Seneca de Clementia.

sity ; we should encourage him by ~~but~~ Ap-
 probation, and give him that Satisfaction for
 his Endeavours, to own, that we believe him
an honest able Man, that never will use his A-
 bilities to the Hurt or Dishonour of his Coun-
 try.—Let us but do this, and he will give a
 good Account of the rest.

These Thoughts thus
 thrown together, and addressed to every dis-
 passionate candid Reader, may serve, not on-
 ly to give them a just Opinion of *this excel-
 lent Man*, and an entire Confidence in his
 Administration.—But if they should chance to
 fall into his Hands also,—they may serve to
 inform *him* how he stands with his Country.
 She is sensible of his Services,—and bids
 him go on,—And that as long as he con-
 tinues faithful to her, she will support him
 at all Events against all Opposition what-
 ever.—But that if he should ever employ
 those rare Talents against Her, she will with-
 draw her Favour from him, as a Man
 the most capable to do her Hurt.—

They may serve also to
 remind Men in future Times, as a short
 Manual of true Politicks, what the Qualities

are, that their Country requires in a Minister, and what Uses he ought to put them to.

It is hoped, that what is here exhibited as a chearful and comfortable Prospect to every *Englishman*, will give Offence to none.—It is not intended to insinuate any Reflection upon other Men in Power, or place Characters in Contraste.—All that is designed is honest and laudable.—It is no more than to do Justice to the Abilities and Virtue of *that Man*, that His Majesty has thought fit to employ, with so much Glory to his *Royal Person*, and so much real Benefit to his *thankful People*.

Edm. N. I. S. I.

They may also to
 returned in a short
 manner of the Publick in the Quinies

